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HOW WILSON WON BATTLE

Story of the Big Democratic Fight in Baltimore.

BRYAN VS. MURPHY

Convention a Mighty Struggle Between Those Titans of Politics.

COMMONER ALWAYS TO FRONT

His Sensational Attack on Plutocrats and Tammany, and Stanchfield's Bitter Reply—How Champ Clark's Forces Failed to Prevent the Nomination of the Governor of New Jersey—Delegates Wearied and Exasperated by the Week-Long Contest.

FOR PRESIDENT.
WOODROW WILSON

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.
THOMAS R. MARSHALL

By W. A. PATTERSON.

Convention Hall, Baltimore.—The place individual without an admission ticket will tell you he would not go if he had a ticket, "as all national conventions are alike."

It has been my privilege to attend a few national conventions, including the recent Republican gathering at Chicago, and the meeting of the Democrats at Baltimore, and I can assure you the convention held here, which nominated Woodrow Wilson for president, and Thomas R. Marshall for vice-president, was different.

Writers, like delegates, receive instructions, and writers, like delegates, may not safely disregard those instructions. I am going to try not to disregard mine, which were to the effect that I write, not a political news story, but with opinions for or against principles or factions or individuals, but a "human interest story," that side of the big meeting of Democrats which the "people at home" would have seen had they been permitted to attend, without regard to the faults or virtues of the contending sides, or the right or wrong of the different factions.

The Baltimore convention was one of those great gatherings which one may witness but once in a lifetime if at all; the kind of a political gathering whose like has never before been witnessed in this or any other country.

It was a battle of political Titans—two men—William Jennings Bryan, three times the standard-bearer of the party, and Charles F. Murphy, the recognized leader of Tammany, probably the most remarkable political organization this country has ever known.

No sooner had Cardinal Gibbons, clad in the rich robes of his churchly office, pronounced the final words of the opening invocation on Tuesday noon than the battle was on.

Mr. Bryan's nomination of Senator Kern for the temporary chairmanship in opposition to Judge Parker, the choice of the national committee, was but a signal. When Mr. Kern, taking the speaker's platform, pleaded for Democratic harmony, and proposed to Judge Parker that they both retire in favor of any one of half a dozen men whom he named, Mr. Bryan scored his first tally. He had the opposition on the defensive for a time at least.

When Judge Parker declined to respond to Senator Kern's proposition the senator retired and named Mr. Bryan for temporary chairman, a move that was widely welcomed by the New York delegation, as Mr. Murphy was more than willing to try conclusions with the Commoner on a direct issue.

A vote of 579 for Parker to 522 for Bryan.

The defeat of Colonel Bryan for the temporary chairmanship was a momentous event for the Democratic party, and the leaders and the rank and file of the party knew it when it occurred. It was no longer a contest between candidates. It was war to the bitter end between Mr. Bryan and Mr. Murphy. Both had accepted the gage of battle, and there would be no compromise.

The change in the party alignment brought many surprises to the lay-

man, among them the swinging of Theodore A. Bell of California, temporary chairman of the Denver convention of four years ago to the Murphy forces. Mr. Bell led the opposition to Bryan, and did not hesitate in demanding that the Nebraskaan, to whom the Democracy had given three opportunities, now step aside and permit other leaders to shape the course of the party.

After the vote ex-Governor Patterson of Ohio expressed the feelings of many of the old leaders who had that day voted against Bryan, when he said:

"The defeat of Mr. Bryan, necessary though it was, was an occasion for tears rather than cheers. He has been and is a great man, but he has had his opportunity, and must now step aside."

That Tuesday night following the defeat of Mr. Bryan will ever remain a memorable one in Democratic history. The great question of that night was: "Is it to be a bolt?"

Among the leaders for the various candidates, the Clark forces instantly realized that if the speaker was to win he must do so in spite of Mr. Bryan's opposition. The Wilson leaders knew they would have Bryan's support, but would it suffice? Leaders of other candidates were wondering what form the alignment would take when the deadlock between Clark and Wilson should be broken.

Mr. Bryan was named as a member of the committee on resolutions, but refused the chairmanship of the committee. The reason for his refusal was explained on Thursday night, when, after the permanent organization had been completed and Ollie James of Kentucky had delivered his address as permanent chairman, Mr. Bryan stepped to the front of the speaker's platform and asked unanimous consent for the presentation of a resolution. But the convention was not willing to take Mr. Bryan on faith, and cries of "No! No!" "Read it! Read the resolution!" arose from all parts of the great hall.

Mr. Bryan, raising his voice so that it filled the hall, and could be heard despite the uproar, read:

"Resolved, That we hereby declare ourselves against the nomination of any candidate representing or under the domination of J. Pierpont Morgan, Thomas F. Ryan, August Belmont or any other member of the favored or privilege seeking class. Also that we ask any delegate representing such an interest be requested to withdraw."

It is impossible for words to express the uproar and turmoil of the moment. Cheers, groans, catcalls, hisses were mingled in one deafening roar.

Mr. Bryan had again put the opposition on the defensive.

"Mr. Chairman! Mr. Chairman!" came the demands for recognition from all portions of the hall, and Congressman Brice of Virginia was recognized and invited to the speaker's stand.

When a semblance of order had been restored, and before Mr. Brice had had an opportunity to speak, Mr. Bryan announced that if New York and Virginia would take a poll of their delegations, and if a majority of the delegates of each state voted in favor of Belmont and Ryan, he would withdraw the last paragraph of his resolution.

"No! No!" came the cries from the delegations of the two states.

Raising his voice so as to be heard above the uproar, Mr. Bryan stated that two delegates from Virginia had asked that such part of the last paragraph as applied to Virginia be withdrawn, and he would do so, and if one delegate from New York would make the same request for that state he would withdraw the last paragraph entirely.

Again came the cries of "No! No!" accompanied by groans and hisses.

The convention at that moment was against Mr. Bryan and his resolution as originally read would have been voted down, had the opportunity been offered.

Brice succeeded in getting attention and in the name of the Virginia delegation offered defiance to the Commoner, stating that no member of the

the Virginia delegation had asked for the withdrawal of any part of the resolution; that Virginia was entirely competent to handle its internal affairs, and would recognize no right of Mr. Bryan to meddle with her.

New York's policy of silence, a policy which was maintained throughout the convention, remained unbroken throughout the turmoil, which lasted for an hour.

Before the vote which had been asked for on the suspension of the

rules could be taken Mr. Bryan withdrew the last paragraph of his resolution, and the resolution was then passed practically unanimously.

The dramatic incident, probably the most dramatic that has ever occurred in a national political convention, had but served to widen the breach between the Bryan and Murphy forces, if that were possible.

From the first to the ninth ballot



New York voted "90 for Harmon," and Nebraska voted almost solidly for Clark, as instructed by the state convention. Mr. Bryan, as a Nebraska delegate-at-large, following the instructions up to and including the fourteenth ballot. On the tenth ballot New York switched to "90 for Clark," causing a Clark demonstration. The balloting continued without serious interruption until Nebraska was called on the fifteenth, when Mr. Bryan arose from his seat on the floor and asked permission to explain a change in his vote.

"No! No!" came the cries, and Congressman Sulzer of New York, who was presiding, ruled the Nebraskaan out of order, and instructed him to vote without an explanation.

"Despite my instructions, I will not vote for Clark so long as New York votes for him," yelled Mr. Bryan, and pandemonium was again loose in the great convention.

The unanimous consent which Mr. Bryan had asked was finally granted at the request of Senator Stone of Missouri.

From the platform Mr. Bryan read a typewritten statement, saying he did so for the reason that he did not want to be misquoted. It was a scathing arraignment of Murphy and the interests Bryan claims Murphy represents, and another effort to read Tammany out of the Democratic party. He referred to his resolution which the convention had passed on Thursday night, and said no candidate the party might nominate with the assistance of the New York delegation voting as a unit under the direction of Murphy would be in a position to carry out the promises of that resolution.

The reading of his statement was interrupted time after time before it was completed, and when completed a hundred or more delegates were on the floor clamoring for recognition.

"Will you support the nominee of this convention?" yelled one delegate.

"I do not expect to bolt," parried Mr. Bryan.

Another succeeded in asking a long hypothetical question, which Bryan

refused to answer unless it were made more explicit.

Another asked whether he considered a refusal to support a candidate receiving Murphy's support the same as a refusal to support for president a man nominated with Murphy's support.

"Does not the law make a difference," replied Mr. Bryan, "between the lawyer who defends a criminal

after the crime has been committed, and the man who assists in the commission of crime?"

Mr. Bryan then announced his vote for Woodrow Wilson and retired to his seat in the Nebraska delegation; and he continued to cast his vote for Wilson throughout the night.

Numerous efforts to break both the unit rule as applied to instructed delegations and the two-thirds rule as applied to the nomination were made previous to the Saturday night adjournment. The first of these applied to Ohio and was successful, the move adding ten votes to the Wilson strength. But the resolution that applied to Ohio did not cover other states, and the enforcing of the rule led to wrangles on every ballot.

At the close of the twenty-fifth ballot late Saturday night Senator Stone of Missouri asked unanimous consent for the consideration of a motion providing that beginning with the twenty-eighth ballot the lowest man should drop out of the race, and on the final ballot the candidate receiving the majority of the votes cast should be the party nominee. The Texas delegation offered immediate objection, and the long, tedious calling of the roll of states continued.

With Monday came two important and interesting features. One was the apparent cracking of the deadlock in favor of Wilson. Despite the desperate endeavors of the Clark forces, the governor's vote increased steadily on every ballot until, on the thirty-ninth, it stood at 501 1/2. After the fortieth ballot the Wilson vote fell off to 494, his net gain over the first ballot being 87 1/2. When Wilson was at the high water mark on Monday, Clark had slumped to 422 but went up again to 430 before adjournment. At this time it seemed that the Illinois delegation held the key to the situation.

The other big event of the day was the exhortation of Bryan by John B. Stanchfield of New York. This was Murphy's first return blow, and it was a hard one. Praising the New York delegation, Stanchfield said:

"It is by common consent the most representative delegation that ever came to a national convention from New York. If these be the 'puppets of war' that Mr. Bryan refers to, we say to that money-grabbing, office-seeking, publicity-hunting marplot of Nebraska—"

Stanchfield could not conclude the sentence. It was drowned in a burst of cheers.

While the speaker delivered this attack Bryan sat quietly in his seat. He watched Stanchfield closely and occasionally smiled.

"I desire to say again, the vote of New York is vital to success," continued Mr. Stanchfield. "And no man can go forth from this convention stigmatized and branded with the mark of Bryanism upon him and come within half a million votes of success."

"When Mr. Bryan makes the statement that these delegates from New York are under the influence of Morgan and Ryan and Belmont, the 'plutocrats' of this convention, he omits one name. Outside of the three he has named, the richest and most powerful plutocrat on the floor is the gentleman from Nebraska himself."

All day the delegates were in fighting mood, and once there was a genuine riot of which Bryan was the center. He resented as an insult the action of some Clark enthusiasts in placing in front of the Commoner a banner bearing words of praise of Clark attributed to Bryan in 1910. Missouri, New Jersey and Nebraska delegates "mixed it up," and even some press correspondents took a hand. Then the police separated the belligerents and later A. M. Dockery and Dave Francis sent apologies to Bryan, disclaiming for the Missouri delegation any connection with the banner.

Tired and out of temper, the delegates assembled at noon Tuesday, determined to wind up matters quickly if possible. On the first ballot of the day, the forty-third, Illinois switched over to Wilson and on the succeeding ballots the vote of the governor rapidly increased. After the forty-fifth Senator Bankhead arose and withdrew the name of Oscar Underwood. "That means Wilson," said the managers for Clark. Then Governor Foss' name also was withdrawn, whereupon Senator Stone and ex-Governor Francis gave up hope for the speaker. They formally released the Clark delegates from their pledges, and it seemed all over but the shouting. But the Tammany bunch and some others were still stubborn and Fitzgerald of New York objected to the unanimous nomination of Wilson by acclamation. So further calling of the roll was necessary.

Every strategy known in political generalship was tried to stampede the convention for the different candidates. No convention in the history of this country has seen such wild demonstrations as have been witnessed in this one at Baltimore.

While Tuesday's dramatic incident, arising over the selection of a temporary chairman, was the cause of almost unprecedented turmoil, there was nothing even bordering on a demonstration. It was just plain fight—not enthusiasm.

speech of Temporary Chairman Parker did not arouse the response so characteristic of Democratic conventions of the past, and the convention showed nothing but a fighting mood until after the incident of the Bryan resolution of Thursday evening and the beginning of the nominating speeches.

The Clark and Wilson forces struggled valiantly to make the greater showing for their respective candidates. While Clark was showing the greater voting strength, the lung power of the thousands of college boys in the Wilson following gave to him an advantage so far as continued effort at noise-making was concerned.

The terrific din of Thursday night which was started by the Clark hosts when Senator Reed named the speaker for the Democratic nomination continued unabated for one and a quarter hours, and in it there seemed to be employed every noise-making implement ever invented.

Great as was the Clark demonstration, however, it did not compare in noise with that led by the Princeton boys when Judge Westcott named the New Jersey executive. For more than one and a half hours the din continued, the lusty youngsters seeming to glory in their ability to keep it up.

Of all the demonstrations of Thursday night the most amusing was that started by a man in the press stand for Governor Baldwin, when the name of the Connecticut executive was entered in the race for the nomination. Realizing that the fourteen delegates from Connecticut could not successfully compete with the strong following of the other candidates, the men in the press stand volunteered a noisy assistance which they continued for more than twenty minutes and which subsided only when the chair threatened to clear the press stand if the reporters did not stop. The many star writers in the press stand, men whose reputations for genius are world-wide, led the Baldwin demonstration, and introduced an ovation for her.

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Mr. Bryan and his followers made political capital from the appearance in the convention of Ryan and Belmont. They acted as a red rag to a bull on the Bryan cohorts. Belmont occupied a conspicuous place in the first row in the box immediately back of the speaker, while Ryan, though occupying a seat with the Virginia delegation ordinarily, was on the speaker's stand a number of times. Ryan wore a plain business suit, and so far as clothing was concerned could not have been distinguished from any of the other delegates. Belmont attended most of the evening sessions dressed in evening clothes, the broad expanse of his white shirt front making him easily distinguishable from others around him.

Bryan, when not on the stand, occupied a seat with the Nebraska delegation immediately in front of the speaker and facing Belmont. During the sessions as the delegates would flock around the Nebraskaan seeking his advice or counsel, or upbraiding him for his opposition, he would point his finger at Belmont to emphasize his points, and his action would nearly always result in an uproar.

On Thursday night, at the close of Senator Reed's speech naming Clark, the speaker's beautiful daughter stepped onto a chair in the gallery, and with a big American flag wrapped around her, and another in each hand, led the cheering for her father. She was the only woman who figured conspicuously in the demonstrations.

Baltimore is by no means a convention city. It is a city of homes with limited hotel accommodations, which made the housing of the big crowd a hard problem to solve. This shortage of hotel accommodations was met by appealing to the people of the city to open their homes to the visitors. The committee in charge established a room-renting agency where those willing to accommodate the Democratic guests could list their rooms. The following is a sample of what was offered:

"I should like you to rent one of my rooms for me," said an amiable-looking elderly lady in weeds. "It is a large room and it is furnished with antique mahogany furniture. The bureau belonged to my great grandmother. It's a Sheraton, and you know how few Sheraton bureaus there are left in this country. If you could just send some western senator, or governor, or even a congressman to look at it, I know they would take it right away, and it would be such a treat for them to live, even for just a few days, in a room furnished with old mahogany. My husband traveled in the west once, and he told me all the furniture was just made of pine. He did not seem to like the west at all. You will be sure to send me a western governor or senator," she repeated as she moved away to give place to another woman with rooms to rent.

Mr. Taft's Two Failures.

President Taft calls for legislation on the cotton tariff rates, in accordance with the recommendations of his tariff board.

When the Aldrich-Payne bill was passed, Mr. Taft had the best sort of opportunity to bring about the conditions he now advises by vetoing the measure and demanding proper rates.

Again, he was given a chance to secure results he now recommends when the house passed the cotton schedules bill, last summer—a bill substantially in accord with the present board plan.

Having failed twice to avail himself of the opportunity to secure just the conditions he now seeks to have adopted, the president has no occasion for surprise in failure of congress to make special haste in following his present recommendations.

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